

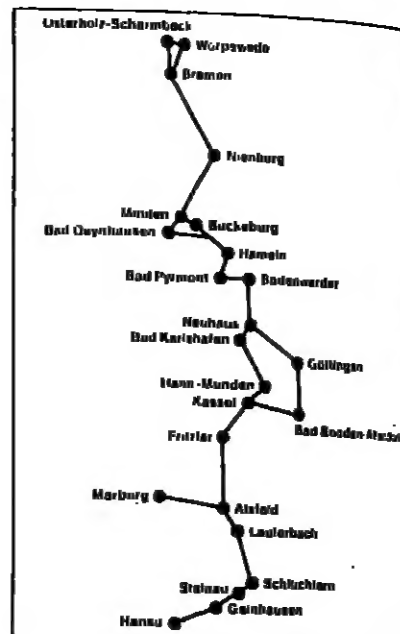
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Fairy Tale Route

German roads will get you there — even if nostalgia is your destination. On your next visit why not call to mind those halcyon childhood days when your mother or father told you fairy tales, maybe German ones? The surroundings in which our great fairy tale writers lived or the scenes in which the tales themselves were set will make their meaning even clearer and show you that many are based on a fairly realistic background.

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- 1 Bremen
- 2 Bodenwerder, home of Münchhausen
- 3 Hanau, birthplace of the Brothers Grimm
- 4 Alsfeld

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A Stockholm payoff for off-stage initiative

DIE ZEIT

It is not very often that the Western Alliance has presented such a picture of harmony as at the Stockholm disarmament conference.

One reason was relief that the pact had withstood the political test of missile deployment.

Another was the conviction that the west would not happen in East-West relations.

Another was President Reagan's speech full of moderation as the first week of talks began.

All manner of wishful thinking may be involved but it is true that the political ice between the superpowers has not led to a complete standstill in East-West relations.

Glaciers have not covered the entire terrain; European cooperation is still flourishing: from billion-dollar loans to large-scale conferences.

Earlier East-West crises between the world powers forced their allies to silence. This time it has prompted them to persuade the Big Two to get back on speaking terms.

There are many reasons why the Europeans should be so keen to see the two sides negotiating again. Bonn's Foreign

to abide by, despite occasional verbal acrimony.

To this extent the US President is right in saying the world today is a safe place despite unremitting rivalry between the Big Two.

That is why the small fry are not reacting with the panic of chicks who sense danger and rush for safety under the wings of their respective superpower hen.

Instead they are self-assuredly using the lack of contact between the great powers to go ahead with diplomatic moves of their own.

The Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building and Disarmament in Europe is a conspiracy of the small fry. It dates back to a move by France in 1978.

President Giscard d'Estaing wanted to manoeuvre France out its self-imposed arms control isolation.

In 1980 the French proposal was taken up by other Western countries, initially to undermine the Soviet plan for a propaganda conference on "military detente and disarmament in Europe."

An increasingly number of props were gradually added to lend support to the precarious balance of East-West dialogue. Last year's agreement to confer in Stockholm was the only specific result of the Helsinki review conference in Madrid.

Foreign Minister Genscher succeeded in persuading so many of his opposite numbers to attend the opening session in Stockholm that Mr Shultz and Mr Gromyko could no longer cry off.

The conspiracy by the small fry to get the superpowers back to the conference table worked.

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The plundering of the treasure troves of the Third World

Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, for one, is engaged in restless, optimistic diplomacy with a view to underpinning at some the far from popular missile deployment policy.

But the crucial reason lies deeper. The rifts between the superpowers has so far, all fears notwithstanding, remained political one.

East and West are not on the brink of military clash. Growing domestic pressures and the regaining of strength by US rival force Moscow to be careful.

It is a caution President Reagan's America also chooses for the most part



Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) and American Secretary of State George Shultz in Stockholm. (Photo: AP)

There they now are, in wintry Stockholm, talking with each other and still not really sure what shape the further course of events may take.

The United States has reverted to a more obliging note, and that alone is no mean feat. Just imagine what might have happened if Mr Reagan had struck the note he did in Stockholm when he first took over at the White House three years ago.

He would not only have nipped many European fears in the bud; he might also have prompted a positive response in Moscow.

Some may dismiss his speech as mere rhetoric or claim, like the Soviet news agency *Novosti*, it was mere propaganda for his forthcoming Presidential election campaign.

Yet if they don't take what he now says at face value, why did they accept

his earlier irreconcilable comments and take them seriously?

The new tenor of US policy does not signify a new policy, however. Other than confidence in America's strength, President Reagan lacks a concept.

Washington has no idea, any more than anyone else, where America must call a halt to its arms build-up. Moscow is called on to make concessions, but if the Russians don't want to make any, Washington merely shrugs its shoulders.

"If the Soviets are unable to meet us half-way," the President said, "we will look after our own interests and those of our friends and allies."

America might be keen on resuming the dialogue and achieving results, but if they don't come about then the President will not be blaming himself.

The Soviet Union is no less sure what to do next. It is wavering between three options: withdrawing into a corner to sulk, launching a fresh initiative to influence public opinion in Western Europe and resuming the factual dialogue with the American President it so despises. In Stockholm, as elsewhere, Mr Gromyko said only the West was sabotaging detente.

The inflexibility and stubbornness of the great powers has so far increased the risk of war neither in Europe nor elsewhere.

But they have allowed patterns of cooperation to disintegrate and decompose that were so arduously established in the 1960s and 1970 s and on which the world remains dependent.

That is the real reason for alarm. No-one can rule out the possibility of the many limited clashes — in the Middle East, the Gulf and south-west Asia — getting out of hand.

That would force the Big Two to take swift action. Besides, arms development is not marking time. Arms technology is constantly creating new facts with which arms control cannot in any case hope to keep abreast.

Time lost in this sector can only mean

East Berlin lets embassy fugitives cross to West

Six East Germans who sought refuge in the American Embassy in East Berlin have been allowed to go to the West.

A tricky situation that neither the Americans nor the East Berlin authorities wanted lasted for about 60 hours.

The US government had no choice but to acknowledge that by American law the refugees were not entitled to asylum as matters stood.

But there could be no question of handing them over to the GDR authorities unless firm assurances were given about what would happen to them.

It was embarrassing for the GDR, which had every reason to end the affair as fast and as quietly as possible.

East Berlin must have been alarmed at the prospect of the refugees' fate being raised at the Stockholm conference.

Bonn evidently played a leading role in bringing about the solution finally reached. The circumstances in which the six found their way to West Berlin and the names of the people concerned lead one to suspect the procedure.

It seems to have been a repetition of the established practice of Bonn paying cash for the refugees' release as a humanitarian measure.

All concerned will have breathed a sigh of relief at having brought the affair to a conclusion in this way. The six refugees will certainly be overjoyed.

But it would be most unsatisfactory if the episode were to lead to the GDR and other East Bloc countries keeping an ever stricter watch on Western diplomatic missions to keep their own citizens at arm's length.

Hans-Werner Einicke
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 23 January 1984)

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Chancellor takes up his postponed confidence-building Israel trip

General-Anzeiger

Chancellor Kohl is spending a week in Israel on the visit postponed last summer when Mr Begin stepped down as Prime Minister.

He is the first Bonn head of government since 1973 to visit a country with which the Federal Republic of Germany has such close ties.

Mr Begin, whose resignation led to the mutually agreed deferment of the Chancellor's visit, was an iron man who made no bones about his feelings.

Jewry, he felt, had a moral claim against the Germans. It was a view he would never have forsaken for a moment.

His successor, Mr Shamir, the former Foreign Minister, is a man with whom the Chancellor will have an easier time personally.

But there have been few changes in the facts of the case or the circumstances surrounding Herr Kohl's visit.

Months have now passed since the Chancellor's visit to Riyadh, which was originally intended to be the second leg of his Middle East tour.

The Israelis may have been relieved of fears that Bonn might agree to sell German Leopard Mk2 tanks to Saudi Arabia.

But if anything they are even more upset by the conclusion of an agreement on long-term security cooperation between Riyadh and Bonn.

Saudi Arabian experts have visited the Federal Republic to consider possibilities of buying defence hardware, but no orders have yet been placed.

Yet all Israelis find the idea of one day maybe facing German arms in the Middle East absolutely intolerable, and even before the Chancellor left for Israel his government was under strong public pressure on this point.

Herr Kohl will be unable to avoid the issue. He can only hope to make the best out of Bonn's conflict of interest on it.

Moves that seriously jeopardise Israel's security are something the Bonn government cannot afford to make in either domestic or foreign policy terms.

Yet Bonn must also be concerned to ensure Saudi Arabia's security as the most influential of the moderate Arab countries.

Riyadh has close ties with the West and since the Iranian revolution and invasion of Afghanistan Saudi Arabia has been particularly important for regional strategic balance.

It is, moreover, the German economy's main oil supplier.

The Chancellor should be able to perform reasonably well by pointing out that his security deal with Riyadh can and should be used to help bring about progress in the peace process with Israel.

He will not, of course, be able to overcome dyed-in-the-wool mistrust in Jerusalem. But important though the arms issue may be, it will hardly predominate.

Neither side is particularly keen on attaching too much importance to it. Neither wants any of a number of facts to be overshadowed.

It is the first time Herr Kohl and Mr Shamir have met as heads of government. The Chancellor has made a point of not neglecting Israel in the present situation. The two countries have resumed top-level talks.

These are the important points about the visit. There are few if any difficult bilateral problems, although Israel with its chronically unbalanced budget is sure to be interested in low-interest loans and German support for better sales prospects in the EEC.

The problems of the European Community's southward expansion from the viewpoint of trade between Israel and the Common market will also be raised.

For the Chancellor his visit, lasting nearly an entire week, will mainly be a fact-finding mission to the Middle East.

Herr Kohl is keen to identify points at which Europe can play a larger role in the Middle East, backing up US peace

moves and definitely not running counter to Israel's interests.

Europe, when all is said and done, cannot afford to be indifferent to the danger situation on its doorstep.

Europe's opportunities of promoting the peace process once it gets going again are by no means limited.

Whether it does or not will depend mainly on King Hussein of Jordan, who urgently needs Western and Saudi Arabian encouragement to seize the opportunity of negotiating on Palestine.

Hussein has already made one bid to get back on talking terms with the weakened PLO leader, Yasser Arafat. He is

Continued from page 1

that problems will establish an increasingly commanding lead over their solution.

In more fortunate circumstances the Stockholm conference on confidence-building and disarmament would have remained a peripheral event.

The 35 countries taking part aim to negotiate regulations for all Europe that may not limit military potential but will limit its suitability for exerting political pressure and launching a surprise attack.

Troop movements of more than 10,000 men are to be notified in advance. Representatives of other countries are to be allowed unlimited access to observe manoeuvres. Links in times of crisis are to be improved.

It is all, unlike in Helsinki, to be "militarily significant, politically binding and suitably verifiable."

Even if the Soviet Union gives its approval (which is by means certain) the negotiations are sure to prove arduous and slow going.

Not until success has been achieved in confidence-building (and the Stockholm delegations expect this first stage to take two years) will the talks get round to disarmament.

But the temporary exit of the Soviet Union from the arms control talks in

also under domestic pressure from unsolved Palestinian problems are increasingly blocking Jordan's development.

It would all be to no avail if the were not prepared at least to freeze policy of building Jewish settlements on the West Bank.

Budget problems would provide face-saving means of embarking on a move.

European influence needs exerting way of talks with all concerned with the pieces of a peace settlement together.

What with the Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel and autumn 1982 Reagan and Fahd the pieces have long existed.

All that may be needed is to suggest few modifications. So Herr Kohl's target must be to improve the basic talks with Israel and promote peace confidence.

Wolfgang
(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 17 January 1984)

Geneva and Vienna has brought a peripheral conference to stage centre and theatre of East-West affairs.

That was the only reason why Foreign Ministers sat quietly like good dolls at the opening session listening to the sounding but unsurprising speeches of their opposite numbers.

That was the only reason why no great hopes were placed in the conference and encounters it made possible, especially the meeting between Shultz and Mr Gromyko.

That was the only reason why observers, including Foreign Minister Genscher, see the Stockholm conference as the starting-point for "qualified" nunciation of the use of force by East and West.

The Soviet Union will undoubtedly try to fuel these hopes with promises for comprehensive settlements ranging from renunciation of first use of nuclear and conventional weapons to a total nunciation of nuclear warheads in Europe.

In Stockholm, as elsewhere, one who is at stake is who will appeal most effectively to European public opinion.

The higher expectations are placed the greater the disappointment is in disappointments in détente policy.

The conspiracy laid by the small has worked; the great powers are on talking terms. But what now? Confidence-building mini-measures will restore shattered confidence between Moscow and Washington, and would be more important than any else.

More is needed than readiness in principle on all sides if the foundation of cooperation are to be consolidated. There must be many small bricks and Stockholm can only be one of them.

Christoph Berner
(Die Zeit, 20 January 1984)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Decisive year ahead: Kohl urged to tighten his grip

Kohl needs media backing now because this is the politically decisive year for his government. Projects not tackled this year can no longer be completed before the legislative period is over.

The political outlook is favourable for Kohl and his coalition.

There are only two important elections this year: Baden-Württemberg (25 March) and the European election (17 June).

Apart from that there are elections in Bavaria, in March, and North Rhine-Westphalia, in September.

Even without underestimating the political significance of these elections, it can safely be said that they do not compare with the hotly contested state elections with changes of government at stake: in Hesse last year and in North Rhine-Westphalia in 1985.

This means that the usual apprehension and considerations that hamper day-to-day politics and are typical of Bonn on the eve of such elections fall away this year.

Kohl's situation in 1984 resembles Willy Brandt's in 1973. There were no state elections and no time-consuming and energy-sapping campaigns that year. It was a perfect year for creative national policy making.

The year before, Brandt's SPD-FDP coalition had won an unexpected landslide election victory. It was therefore not surprising that he repeatedly referred to 1973 as a year of reforms.

But the political realities of 1973 were dominated by a series of setbacks: the air traffic controllers strike, the metal industry industrial dispute in North Westphalia and North Baden (over

working conditions rather than pay) and the energy crisis (no Sunday driving).

Commentators for the first time recommended that Brandt be replaced by Helmut Schmidt. The shift of power came a few months later, triggered by the Guillaume affair. This was preceded by the transport and public sector workers strike.

And now to Kohl's 1984: a year after his party's election triumph, backed by the prospect of a couple of percentage points economic growth, today's centre-right coalition can look to the future with great expectations.

The public gives priority to five political issues: jobs (84 per cent), environment (56), pensions (53), federal deficit (44) and consumer price stability (33), say polls by the Emnid Institute in the second half of December.

The government's own priorities are the same. Jobs also top the list.

Kohl's list of projects to be tackled this year: withholding and income tax reforms (with emphasis on the family), reduction of tax subsidies, steel programme, deregulation, innovation promotion, special measures against youth unemployment, promotion of flexible working hours, structural reforms in the social security pensions system and reforms in the welfare and health sectors.

Programme outlines for these individual measures is to be provided by the CDU Congress in Stuttgart in the first half of May.

Much of the discussion will centre around new technologies and innovative branches of industry with a future.

The conservatives have for the mo-

ment managed to monopolise these issues, largely thanks to a devil-may-care attitude about the consequences.

In matters of economic policy, the CDU is faced with a confrontation within the party between pragmatists and ideologues: the think tank which is to prepare the economic part of the party congress has already seen clashes between Lothar Späth (for whom state intervention is not taboo) and Ernst Albrecht (who stakes everything on market forces).

Kohl is said to be interested in an open discussion of these conflicting views. This is not quite in keeping with his political style as party leader so far. But it would be the logical consequence of his realisation that the problems of the 1980s can be tackled neither with the remedies of the 1950s nor by adopting foreign models.

The future cannot be shaped with the theories of Keynes or Ludwig Erhard. And a German Silicon Valley is no more an answer problems as would be the adoption of Japanese-style labour relations.

What Germany needs to overcome its structural problems is blend of sound framework conditions and new investment steering methods. The CDU, like any other party, cannot afford any taboos here.

It will be a difficult discussion for the senior coalition partner, CDU, especially in view of the fact that this party has little experience with controversies over programme.

But the debate will provide it and its leader, Helmut Kohl, with an opportunity to make 1984 a year of creative policy-making.

If this is to happen, Kohl will have to rid his government of crises and affairs. He must get things back to normal in this year more than in any other.

Werner A. Perger
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,
22 January 1984)

Hesse Greens vote for deal with SPD

wing appears to be stable. In fact, even the fundamentalists among them feel that they have passed the point of no return.

Even so, the next general meeting of the Hesse Greens in May could turn into an acid test. The crunch will come when they have to make a final decision on a silent partnership.

Börner and Greens leader, Karl Kerschgens seem determined to weather the hazards. Failure or success for both will depend on their authority and their willingness to compromise.

The tenuous cooperation so far, which will be put to the test with the 1984 budget, in no way indicates that there will be chaos in Hesse.

Holger Börner will ensure that the pendulum does not swing too far to either side as a result of this political marriage of convenience.

His position as caretaker Prime Minister is strong enough.

He will be able to let negotiations break down if the Greens yield to minority pressure and become too extreme.

But if this were to happen he could no longer count on the CDU and FDP jumping into the breach. There would be yet another election.

There is no getting away from the fact that Hesse needs a viable parliamentary

majority. Its Constitution gives the caretaking cabinet ample scope, this has its limits.

Hesse has become a test case of national significance for both the SPD and the Greens.

The Social Democrats are using Hesse to find out whether the Greens could become a coalition partner to oppose the Conservative-Liberal coalition with.

The role assigned to the Greens in this concept is that of a fourth party, the same as Franz Josef Strauss wanted for his CSU during the Social-Liberal era.

The SPD leadership sees two medium term possibilities: either the Greens stabilise to the point of becoming natural kingmakers or the SPD wins many Greens/Alternative voters.

Either way, the SPD would be in a good position if its policy of compromise does not alienate its own voters.

The Greens run the greater risk because, like the FDP, they will always have the problem of getting over the five per cent hurdle.

Compromise might disappoint their followers' high expectations. But denying cooperation altogether would strip them of influence.

Nobody can be satisfied with a zero effect in the long run.

The Hesse Greens are therefore now trying a policy of small ecological steps. If they come up with some success, most of their national party will follow suit.

No matter what, *realpolitik* is their only chance of survival.

Joachim Worthmann
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 January 1984)

A Greek angle to Balkans nuclear talks

pend to a great extent on the results he achieves in world affairs in relation to what he promised the Greek electorate two years ago.

This need to notch up foreign policy success is the Greek Premier's Achilles heel, as most Balkan countries have come to realise.

They see this political weakness of Mr Papandreu as the context in which they stand to benefit from negotiations on a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

That is why the initial emphasis in Athens was on discussion of bilateral problems rather than nuclear weapons in a bid to arrive at confidence-building measures in the region.

There is no shortage of bilateral issues that need resolving before the conference deals with the theoretical

realisation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

There are the disputes over northern Cyprus and the Aegean between Greece and Turkey.

There is the recognition of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia as a nation by Bulgaria and Greece Belgrade would like to see.

There is abolition of visas and deregulation of border traffic between Yugoslavia and Greece, to mention only the major causes of friction between the Balkan countries.

Yugoslavia would also like to make the establishment of a nuclear-free zone subject to progress in economic cooperation. It has invited the others to an economic affairs conference this summer to make its point.

Prime Minister Papandreu will need to make a great many concessions before Balkan countries such as Yugoslavia and Turkey are going to seriously consider talking with each other about setting up a nuclear-free zone.

Georg von Huebner
(Handelsblatt, 17 January 1984)

On the eve of the Stockholm disarmament conference, talks began in Athens on a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans.

Disarmament experts from Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Rumania set out, in a first round of talks, to exchange their governments' views on a favourite project of Prime Minister Papandreu.

Of the Balkan countries only Albania has said it will definitely not be taking part. Turkey is first to observe how the talks get on, then to join the second round of talks, as it were, at the end of the month.

The issue is not really one of seeking specific means of banning the stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons in the region.

That is a matter on which the countries in question have little or no influence.

What is aimed at is the creation of a feeling of fundamental change to sustain the interest of Greek voters in Mr Papandreu's peace policy and to pave the way for a general election that must be held by next year.

Mr Papandreu's re-election will de-

29 Jan 1984

PEOPLE

Barzel: loneliness of the long-distance politician



Rainer Barzel... sharp choice of words.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

It is opposite Rainer Barzel, Speaker of the Bonn Bundestag, and you'll get a straight answer. He is one of the best speakers the House has ever had. He is short and, when necessary, sharp in his choice of words. His voice can be metallic in timbre, but there are alloys to suit all requirements.

Was the siege of Parliament by anti-missile demonstrators something unique or the shape of things to come? It was certainly a new departure.

Barzel coolly diagnoses it as a challenge to representative democracy, and a very serious one: "They're going the whole hog."

This is a reference to Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution. It is being challenged by the Greens in the Bundestag and by the Green, the Alternative, the

peace and other movements outside Parliament.

Rainer Barzel sits up in the Speaker's chair looking down on the House and observing.

It is, he says, an interesting vantage-point from which there is much to see. He is tense and attentive but makes a point of appearing cool, calm and collected.

He also sounds a note of detachment in the words he uses to describe his role. He aims at reducing tension, not at dramatising the situation. His words have a businesslike ring.

But the note of routine and professionalism is a kind of armour plating for the sense of commitment felt by a politician who has seen it all, both personally and politically.

Promise and glamour, tragedy and disappointment: they have all been his lot. And a man who has experienced them all can distinguish more clearly between the important and the unimportant.

He is careful in his use of facial expression and rationates the use of strength. Barzel could well have been the model for Alan Sillitoe's *Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner*.

His career is that of a man who has achieved every office but the highest. He came within striking distance of replacing Willy Brandt as Chancellor in 1972, then was dropped.

He retired, then staged a comeback. He was hailed, then dismissed as a failure by fellow-members of the CDU (but not friends).

His first mentor was Karl Arnold, CDU Premier of North Rhine-Westphalia. He was Konrad Adenauer's youngest Cabinet Minister in Bonn.

He became leader of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag and shared the honours with Helmut Schmidt as co-manager of the Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats that ruled in Bonn from 1966 to 1969.

He twice ran for CDU leader. In 1966 he was defeated by Ludwig Erhard. In 1977 he beat Helmut Kohl. In between, in 1972, he failed to beat Willy Brandt at the polls.

He was swimming against the tide of the time. It was the year he failed to beat Chancellor Brandt in a no-confidence motion, if only by a hair's breadth. It was the year the Opposition controversially abstained in the vote on the treaties with East Bloc countries.

Barzel resigned as CDU/CSU leader in the Bundestag, decided not to run again as CDU leader. Helmut Kohl came to the fore.

Kohl's erstwhile rival began a long march through a trough, at times vanishing from view. Books he wrote emerged as signs of life.

After switching from a flying start to utter eclipse other men would have called it a day without for a moment being belittled.

Carrington will bring qualities of diplomacy to top Nato job

Lord Carrington, who is taking over from Joseph Luns of Holland as Nato secretary-general, is highly qualified and well suited for the job.

The 64-year-old British Tory peer, who was born on his family's estate near London in 1919, has extensive experience of political and military work.

He has a reputation as a pragmatist who combines diplomatic skill with stamina and determination. He has long been rated the likeliest candidate for the job.

An American candidate for Nato secretary-general was ruled out because the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General Bernard W. Rogers, is an American.

As the secretary-general has to elected unanimously countries that are in dispute, such as Greece and Turkey, were ruled out.

At Nato headquarters in Brussels and in Washington D.C. the secretary-general, it is also felt, must be from a country where medium-range US missiles are to be stationed.

That means Belgium, Holland, Britain, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Leo Tindemans, the Belgian Foreign Minister, would have been a convincing candidate, but he hesitated too long and missed the opportunity.

Holland was ruled out because Mr Luns is a Dutchman. Italy lacked the right man for the job and Germany was not keen on it for a variety of reasons.

It would have been almost normal for a politician, but Barzel is not a politician in the normal sense of the term; politics is his life.

When he emerged from the trough he was like a giant refreshed and took up the challenge. In 1982, when the CDU returned to power, he took over at the Ministry he first headed under Konrad Adenauer.

The All-German Affairs Ministry had changed its name to Intra-German Affairs, but both terms, monstrous as they are, symbolise the German situation.

After the March 1983 general election he became Bundestag Speaker, a role in which he has the form of government to defend.

Parliament has become an increasingly important point from which to defend it. The challenge is taking shape both inside and outside Parliament.

A movement of anti-parliamentary "popular will" is already on the move, although it may not yet be firmly organised or organised.

Not everyone may have noticed the fact, but the course of history in Germany is gaining momentum.

Powerful external forces and fresh domestic forces are trying to exert influence on the course the country is taking. "It's like turbulence," says Barzel, World War II airman.

Would he have likely to govern the country, having come so close to becoming Chancellor? Surely one prepares for the possibility?

The question prompts a note of irony. The atmosphere chills a little. "We have so much future ahead of us, you know, that details of the past need to be carefully sorted."

But Rainer Barzel always conveys the impression that he is ready to step in if needed.

Herbert Kremp
(Die Welt, 3 December 1983)



Lord Carrington... pragmatist
(Photo: AP)

Lord Carrington was educated at Eton and Sandhurst and served as a professional officer in the Second World War. He retired as a major in 1946 to his Buckinghamshire estate.

From 1954 to 1956 he was parliamentary under-secretary to the Defence Ministry. In 1959 he became First Lord of the Admiralty, later Minister of State for the Navy.

From 1964 he was Opposition leader in the House of Lords and a member of Edward Heath's Shadow Cabinet. In 1970 he became Minister of Defence.

In this capacity he held talks on serious occasions with Bonn Defence

Continued on page 7

DEFENCE

West needs to expand conventional capacity despite cash shortages

Missile deployment by the West may soon be followed by an arms debate on a conventional response to the East Bloc's arms build-up.

It is, of course, an opportunity of reducing our reliance on nuclear defence by boosting ability to effectively ward off an attack by conventional means.

At Nato Ministerial conferences it has grown clearly apparent that the pact plans to step up its conventional capacity in the decade ahead.

It is also clear that Nato countries are all hamstrung by financial difficulties and unable to forge ahead at full speed in this direction.

The technology needed for the change envisaged will be costly to introduce to the right extent and at sufficient pace. So change will take time.

To nip in the bud romantic mistakes and propaganda assertions, there is no question of supplanting existing Nato strategy.

It remains based on a combination of nuclear weapons and conventional forces, and there are no plans to replace it by alternative ideas.

There is certainly no question whatsoever of switching from a defensive strategy to an offensive one, as East Bloc propagandists claim.

There is none either of a quantitative

increase in defence capability, merely of a qualitative one.

The aim is to raise the nuclear threshold within the framework of flexible response so as to defend Nato by conventional means and not have to use nuclear weapons straight away.

Conclusions are to be reached from the fact that the Soviet Union embarked on a large-scale conventional and nuclear arms build-up at a time when the West was disposed toward disarmament.

The situation in Central Europe proves this point drastically, although the fact has gone largely unnoticed because the truth of the military build-up in the East has been concealed by political bids to strike a balance between powers on both sides.

Between 1965 and 1980 about 30,000 land and air systems were newly installed in Central Europe; 81 per cent by the East and 19 per cent by the West.

The Soviet Union accounted for 46 per cent of the increase, the Americans for seven per cent.

These figures show there can no question of an arms race. The East made the running, whereas the West chose to stall.

The balance of power was upset accordingly for the major weapon systems in Central Europe: from 1 to 1.5 (25,000 to 38,000) in 1965 to a ratio of 1 to 2 (31,000 to 62,000) in 1980.

This trend took its course to varying degrees in respect of tanks, missiles, aircraft, anti-tank and anti-aircraft defences.

The ratio is changing qualitatively as well as quantitatively. In other words, Nato's quantitative shortfall behind the Warsaw Pact is no longer offset by a qualitative advantage.

The inclination to dismiss such comparisons as pointless nit-picking testifies to an alarming overestimation of political detente measures of a purely symbolic nature.

That almost automatically leads to an underestimation of the state of military tension.

The striving for a balance of power need not mean a tank for a tank, a bomber for a bomber and a field gun for a field gun.

But we will have to try harder to strike a balance in defensive capability now the increasing build-up of offensive capacity by the East has called for adequate defensive capability in the West.

What course would conventional battle in Germany take, assuming nuclear weapons were not yet used? No-one knows for sure, of course. But the following considerations can be borne in mind:

● An aggressor would try to break through the front on the ground and to

race through the belt of anti-aircraft defences to reach his targets.

He would also try to hit the defender at the front and in the rear as hard as possible and at the same time so as to clear the path for his offensive and to cut the defenders off from reinforcements of manpower and material.

● Attackers and defenders would aim enormous amounts of grenades, rockets and bombs at each other, the one trying to open up breaches through which to strike, the other trying to close gaps by means of firepower.

Both would doubtless use the opportunities provided by modern technology of bombarding targets with pinpoint accuracy. 1940s-style carpet bombing would not be necessary.

The East Bloc's conventional strength as a threat prior to the use of nuclear weapons is part of a strategy of intimidation.

It forces the West to expand and enlarge its deterrent capacity, and especially to develop conventional armament.

Priority must naturally be given to weapon systems aimed mainly at giving front-line support and cover, but consideration must also be given to the Rogers Plan to strike at the enemy's hinterland.

Given the expense, this cannot all be done over a short period, but it must be included in long-term planning and budgeting.

Security presupposes both political peace bids and military prevention of war. It is not available at low cost. But, as Churchill said, every country pays for an army, either its own someone else's.

Wolfgang von Raven

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ and Welt, 6 January 1984)

Europe free of chemical weapons is a negotiable ideal

the Soviet Union have chemical weapons stockpiled in sufficient quantity to enable them to launch an effective attack or counter-attack.

Smaller amounts sufficient for defensive use are kept by smaller powers such as Britain and France.

US stocks of chemical ammunition are estimated to total between 150,000 and 200,000 tons, Soviet stocks at between 200,000 and 700,000 tons.

About 10,000 tons of American chemical ammunition are stockpiled in the Federal Republic of Germany: artillery shells and missiles filled with Sarin (GB) and VX nerve gas.

The Russians prefer the nerve gas Soman (GD), developed in Germany during the Second World War and converted into a thick, oily liquid.

Nerve gas affects the respiratory system or the skin, causing fatal muscular paralysis and extreme pain. There is general agreement at the UN disarmament committee in Geneva that it must be scrapped.

Difficulties arise merely in connection with how total chemical disarmament is to be verified.

Even the military are unenthusiastic about chemical weapons. Their use is internationally proscribed. They are dangerous to stockpile and ship. In the final analysis they would be unlikely to decide the outcome of a war.

Carpet bombing would call for enormous quantities of chemicals to be sprayed, resulting in contamination that would make it difficult to occupy territory gained in this way.

On Johnston Island in the Pacific the

is a Europe free of chemical weapons also inconceivable? Initial Nato reactions rejecting the Warsaw Pact's proposal certainly seem overhasty.

The Kremlin is naturally concerned primarily to regain a diplomatic foothold after the fiasco of negotiations on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Yet if it is true that the Soviet Union has at least three times as much poison-gas ammunition as the United States, then the West must in principle be tempted by the offer to withdraw it.

The initial response from Nato quarters is that the Soviet proposal contains nothing new and also has nothing to say about verification of a regional ban on chemical weapons.

The first argument is wrong. A chemical weapon-free zone in Europe has never yet been specifically considered at an international conference.

The UN disarmament committee in Geneva may have been discussing the destruction of all weapons of chemical warfare for the past decade, but this proposal is worldwide, comprehensive and correspondingly complex.

Negotiations could surely be held about verification of the withdrawal of chemical weapons stockpiled in Central Europe or Europe as a whole.

The Warsaw Pact will definitely not have expected the West to be satisfied with mere verbal assurances.

Chemical weapons are unique inasmuch as their use is prohibited by the 1925 Geneva poison gas protocol, a ban that has been obeyed on all but a handful of regrettable occasions.

Even as a last desperate resort Hitler chose not to use a category of weapons which Germany in those days held a technological lead.

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Germany's unemployment is almost 2.5 million, a post-war record. Sixty per cent of the unemployed are in the north, which has roughly the same population as the south. The north was once economically more advanced than the south. Not any more.

■ THE ECONOMY

Topsy-turification: south up and north down

Lack of commercial flexibility has been blamed for the decline of north Germany's economic importance compared with the south of the country.

Over the 1970s, the southern states have made considerable inroads into the relative strength of the north.

North Germans are less willing than south Germans to take risks and innovate, says a study by the *Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung*.

Frank Haller, of the Bremen Committee for Economic Research (BAW), says northerners are not flexible enough in responding to world market changes.

Businessmen in the north stick too long with traditional branches of industry, Haller says.

Bremen is a major example of decline in the north. Its unemployment is the highest of the *Länder* at 13.5 per cent. It was once below the national average.

The city-state's shipbuilding crisis has been defused for the moment. The city council have plans for a merger in the industry and are to give 50 million marks worth of subsidies.

But a spokesman said more layoffs must be expected. The shipyard payroll has already shrunk from 21,000 to fewer than 13,000.

The settlement of the long EEC fishing dispute provides hope for the fishing and fish processing industries.

But on the other hand 14,000 jobs at the Klöckner steel mill are threatened by fines imposed by the Brussels Commission for breaking production quotas.

The BAW study shows that it was above all the two northern city-states of Bremen and Hamburg that helped widen the north-south gap.

The study compares the four coastal states with three southern states: Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and Hesse.

In 1975, unemployment in the north was 17 per cent higher than in the south. The gap has meanwhile widened to 40 per cent.

But while the two large area states in the south were roughly in step with the national average, Hamburg alone lost 53,000 (or seven per cent) of its jobs.

What Bremen lacks most is business with a future, says Frank Haller of BAW. Sixty per cent of all workers are employed in shrinking branches of business, he says.

Examples are the food, tobacco and brewing industries where jobs have been

lost through both migration and rationalisation.

To make matters worse, the industries where people traditionally have gone to work after being laid off, the service industries, are hard pressed themselves.

This applies particularly to commerce and transport in both Bremen and Hamburg, according to Haller.

Containers have streamlined harbour work and done away with harbour vicinity as an edge in industrial location, he says.

With the establishment of the European Community, "the coastal areas, which had always been regarded as having an economic advantage, were relegated to a peripheral position in Western Europe and placed at a disadvantage."

A memorandum by the *Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung*, Hanover, sums up the findings of three

Frankfurter Rundschau

studies on "significant siting factors in northern Germany."

It says there has been a shift in the freight handling of seaports around the estuary of the Rhine in the past 30 years.

"The shipbuilding industry declined as did the fishing industry and specialised overseas trade. Traditional tourism demand reached saturation point."

The disadvantages of peripheral sites increased in line with the "growing polarisation of economic life and the concentration of private business and associations in such conurbations as Cologne-Düsseldorf and Frankfurt."

The gross per capita domestic product serves as a major indicator in comparing the economic quality of various regions.

Hamburg (DM46,000) and Bremen (DM34,000) are still ahead of the national average of DM25,000.

But the south, spearheaded by Bavaria, has been catching up rapidly over the past ten years.

There have also been shifts between the coastal states. The relocation of production plants to areas next to the city-states of Hamburg and Bremen resulted in disproportionate growth for Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein.

Together, the northern states have ac-

counted for about one-fifth of the gross domestic product since 1970. But during the same period Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg raised their share from 32 per cent to more than one-third.

The Hanover memorandum lists several cases of negative factors for the north. They include not only the geographical situation and natural conditions but, above all, "infrastructure shortcomings."

Northern Germany is said in the memorandum to have a "clear research deficit." Moreover, "technical education facilities must be improved." Hamburg is doing exactly this with its newly opened Technical University.

The *Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung* intends to expand its research into one aspect of siting decisions that eludes economic analysis: the image of northern Germany.

The Academy's researchers are still cautious in expressing what they mean, saying: "This includes such factors as the 'mentality of the north German' which — at least so far — has been marked by less willingness than in the south to take risks and introduce innovations."

BAW's Haller strikes a similar note. He says it is due to the conservative mentality of northerners that they are not flexible enough in responding to world market changes. They stick too long with traditional branches of industry.

Before World War II, Germany could be roughly divided into an industrialised north centring around the Ruhr, the Hanover-Brunswick region and the coastal cities, and the south with its agriculture and trades and crafts.

But the lack of basic materials and heavy industry gave the south an edge in the end. The southern states started early in developing a decentralised, medium-sized industry with heavy emphasis on skilled labour and research. These industries are not raw-material intensive.

In its analysis, "The North Falls Behind," *Bayerische Landesbank* describes the consequences today.

"While the north established concentrations of branches of industry that are particularly sensitive to structural changes and competition on world markets, the emphasis in the south is on industries of the future.

"They include electrical engineering

and electronics, chemicals, aerospace, communication and information technology, special machinery and nuclear technology.

"The Munich area is already seen as Germany's Silicon Valley. But even industries that are fairly evenly distributed between north and south, like the motor industry, are more dynamic and faster growing in the south."

Klaus Kunzmann of the *Institut für Raumplanung*, Dortmund, sees the north-south gap not so much as a geographic gradient but as a regional differentiation apart.

The gap, as he sees it, is more between old and new industrial areas.

In the traditional monostructure regions, like the Ruhr area, it has been the forces that prevented change.

This retardation process, he says, starts with the fact that major companies that control the chambers of commerce pocket much of the subsidies.

By controlling real estate and hence influencing the settlement of industry, they have so far been successful in preventing the settlement of new medium-sized branches of industry.

A study by the *Kommunalverband Ruhrgebiet*, Essen, arrives at similar findings regarding the Ruhr area: "The coal and steel sector, acting as a negative catalyst, prevented the emergence of an independent second economic pillar."

The study goes on to say that regions dominated by major mass production companies are less adaptable.

By the same token small and medium-sized companies demand a high degree of creativity and flexibility from their staff.

The study sees the function of the small companies as a "compost for future enterprises." As a result, regions dominated by mammoth concerns have an "entrepreneurial deficit."

The over-representation in the Ruhr-Saar and coastal areas of crisis-prone industries has led to a shift of production regions at the expense of the area along the intra-German border.

This is most clearly evidenced by subsidies race.

In their first structural study, the nation's five major economic research institutes have already stressed that regional promotion is increasingly being supplanted by sectoral promotion.

Regional subsidies are aimed primarily at the settlement of new industries and people starting off in business.

Subsidies for specific branches of industry on the other hand, serve primarily to keep ailing industries going, thus retarding structural changes.

According to Eberhard Thiel of

Continued on page 7

■ INDUSTRY

Trawling fleets get smaller as the oceans' fish stocks decline

It is the last fishing voyage for the factory ship *Marburg*. Pounding along the 64th parallel north in driving snow and a force seven, the crew is preparing to trawl.

The 2,600hp engines drive the 2,560 GRT ship (crew: 50) at half speed.

After dragging the trawl for three hours through the freezing East Greenland Current, the gear is brought in. The yield is several hundred cwt of cod and other bottom fish.

The catch goes straight to the factory deck for filleting and the *Marburg* takes a south easterly course for Bremerhaven. The eight-week voyage has yielded 600 tons of filleted fish.

The *Marburg's* owners realised two years ago that she was no longer a paying proposition. So the sale to the Norwegian North Star Line for conversion to a cruise ship was agreed.

At the end of this trip, the crew will join the legion of jobless.

Germany's deep-sea fishing industry has been on the verge of ruin over the past few years.

Catches declined by more than 66 per cent between 1974 and 1982: from more than 500,000 tons to 167,000 tons.

Most of the vessels have been sold or are idle. The 1974 fleet of 73 was down to 24 deep-freeze and fresh fish vessels by the end of 1983.

Only 15 years ago, West Germany still had 150 vessels plying the oceans of the world.

The *Notgemeinschaft Fisch*, Cuxhaven, an emergency panel set up to deal with the industry's plight, speaks of the "bleeding of Germany's deep-sea fishing industry," and this is no exaggeration.

The haggling over fishing rights and catch quotas has sapped the industry and driven it into the present crisis. This is particularly true of the tug-of-war of vital countries over North Atlantic fish stocks.

The European Community has had to deal time and again with the political poker game over access to fishing grounds and quotas.

In mid-December, the fishing nations managed to agree on how much of the 155,000-ton North Sea herring stock the individual EEC countries may land in 1984.

Negotiations on other species of food fish are due to begin in late January.

It has long been a proven fact that North Sea and North Atlantic stocks have been overfished. The food reserves

of the sea have been depleted without regard for the ecology.

But there are many reasons for the diminishing catches. Overfishing of whole areas and fish species on an industrial scale is only one of many factors.

The race for food from the sea has become tougher throughout the world.

Conflicts over fishing rights, complete with armed clashes at sea, have been making headlines in the past ten years.

The Cod War between Iceland and Britain in the mid-1970s marked the beginning of a fierce battle over fish stocks.

Marine biologists are still at odds over the reasons for the decline of Icelandic stocks.

They are agreed that those waters have been overfished for years; but this alone does not explain the enormous depletion of up to 80 per cent of some species.

David Garrod, a British marine biologist, puts much of the blame on fishing in the cod's spawning areas along the North and East coasts of Iceland.

Others put the blame on factors that have so far received little attention.

Living conditions for many North Atlantic species have deteriorated markedly.

Icelandic experts report a high mortality among young cod, reduced spawning in fish schools and retarded development of young fish.

The number of spawning fish off Iceland has declined by 66 per cent, they say. And this cannot be explained by overfishing alone.

Climatologists and geophysicists point to a drop in the mean temperature of the northern hemisphere, above all the cooling down of the Arctic region.

The mean annual temperature of the northern hemisphere has dropped one degree C in the past 40 years, American climatologists say.

The cooling down process is particularly noticeable in Arctic waters where it has had a major effect on the marine environment, they hold.

The polar ice cover in the Arctic has increased by 12 per cent, and many marine creatures are sensitive to such climatic changes.

The lowering of temperatures and the spreading of the ice cover have created new ecological conditions in the North Atlantic — an area whose 20 million ton fish yield makes it one of the world's most important fishing grounds.

Over the past few years, several voya-

ges by German research vessels have provided conclusive information on the development of Atlantic and North Sea stocks.

The shelf around Norway's Bear Island has been thoroughly explored by the German fisheries research vessel *Anton Dohrn* which took specimen catches from depths of up to 500 metres.

A report by the Federal Research Institute for Fisheries sums up the findings: "There were no fish concentrations worth mentioning. A conspicuous element is the almost complete absence of cod and pollack off Spitzbergen and Bear Island."

Catches off Bear Island declined by almost 90 per cent within a year. The drop in catches to the west and south of Spitzbergen was even more dramatic, the report says.

The German marine biologists say: "It was not only the results of this voyage that indicate that the excellent cod year 1970 has been followed by a heavy depletion of stocks through overfishing and that no new stocks have developed."

The most important types of food fish have virtually disappeared from this sea area.

But ecological causes and effects that will be decisive for the future of the fishing industry have meanwhile emerged.

This has been substantiated by the voyages of the research vessel *Poseidon* that ushered in a stocktaking of North Sea fish reserves.

The *Poseidon* took specimen catches from some 100 selected sea areas for this fish census.

The specimens will be evaluated by computer and will permit a comprehensive estimate of stocks.

Initial results indicate a shift in species and stocks.

Like in other sea areas, North Sea cod, herring and mackerel stocks have declined dramatically — in the case of herring by 90 per cent in three years.

Demersal fish stocks, on the other hand, show a marked increase. This is due to the drop in the number of predators (mackerel, cod and herring) that have for years depleted other stocks.

As a result, North Sea flounder stocks have quintupled since 1950. Stocks of small bottom fish that are barely fished are also plentiful. Most of this fish is unsuitable for food but can be used for meal.

The world fishing industry's worst setback was off South America's Pacific coast where some of the richest waters became virtually barren within a few years.

In 1970, Peruvian fishermen still pulled 12 million tons of fish — primarily anchoveta for fishmeal — out of the Pacific.

In 1973 there was a dramatic decline of catches to 2.3 million tons. They are now stagnating at three to four million tons a year, which spells economic disaster for Peru and its fishing industry.

Around 1970, Peru was still the world's most important fishing nation, with a fleet of 2,400 boats.

Some two dozen meal factories have had to close down since the anchoveta disaster struck. Harbours and shipyards have gone out of business.

The cold Humboldt current that flows

northward off the coasts of Chile and Peru provided one of the world's most productive fishing areas.

Especially along the edges of warm equatorial currents, the 12° to 14° C Humboldt current provided ideal conditions for the development of large stocks. The rising water from the bottom was full of nutrients.

But changes in the trade winds and the atmospheric air circulation create a shift in the position and intensity of the Humboldt current, mostly at intervals of between 15 and 20 years.

Warm tropical water displaces cold currents southward, resulting in what has become known as the El Nino phenomenon.

The oxygen content of the sea diminishes along with the food supply; the warming up process triggers fermentation, and a toxic plankton spreads. The fish die or migrate. Catches decline.

Research into the marine ecology of that region did not start until Pacific stocks were overfished without regard for ecological cycles.

But the overfishing of once productive sea areas is not restricted to the waters off Peru.

The rich stocks off Namibia have also been depleted. In 1968, the cold Benguela Current off the coast of South Africa yielded 1.3 million tons of sardines. By 1982 catches were down to 51,000 tons — an unprecedented decline.

After decades of dramatically growing catches, the world's fishing industry now finds itself faced with a crisis and the loss of its best grounds.

Catches between 1950 and 1970 rose more than threefold, from 20 million to 70 million tons a year.

There has been a steady decline since the early 1970s. But the development of freshwater fisheries, fish farms and aquaculture has nevertheless kept overall fish production stagnating at 70 million tons a year for the past decade.

The once euphoric expectations that were pinned on the sea as a food source have proved an illusion.

There was a time when researchers were certain that fish would ensure the world's food supply and eliminate the Third World's protein shortage.

But forecasts of annual world catches of between 150 million and 200 million tons were wishful thinking.

Peter Reuschenberg
(*Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*,
6 January 1984)

Carrington

Continued from page 4

Ministers Helmut Schmidt and Georg Leber. He went back into opposition in 1974 when the Conservatives were defeated at the polls.

He returned to power in 1979 with Mrs Thatcher, who made him Foreign Secretary. He resigned in April 1982, accepting personal responsibility for errors of judgement leading to the Argentinian invasion of the Falklands.

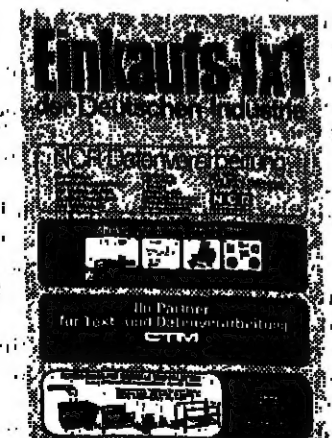
The outgoing Nato secretary-general, Mr Luns, 73, has held the post for over a decade. He long objected to retirement, especially as there is no age or term of office limit.

He has consistently succeeded in reconciling differences between Nato countries but lately found the work more difficult.

He almost always accepted the American viewpoint, which is why the United States will have approved of his long service to Nato.

Helmut Berndt
(*Der Tagesspiegel*, 9 December 1983)

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Continued from page 6

Hamburg-based HWWA Institute, shipyards used public funds for major expansion projects in the mid-1970s, "relying on continued support."

As he sees it, it is not the shipyards in general that are ailing but only the mammoth yards that have too long pinned their commercial hopes on one standard type of freighter.

The medium-sized and more flexible yards have no problems. As a result, Thiel refuses to reduce the north-south gap to the simple formula: growth branches on the one hand and ailing branches on the other: "What matters is the range of products."

There is no such thing as a growth

branch of industry; there are only growth products, he says.

All in all, the recently released studies show that the north-south gap exists and that it is growing where employment opportunities are concerned.

A regional economic policy alone cannot remedy the situation. What is needed is concerted action in research, education, transport and environmental policy.

Environmental policy gains importance in terms of the recreational value of a region, which is becoming increasingly important in industry's location decisions.

Roland Bunzenhöl
(*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 14 January 1984)

Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann's new film promotion guidelines may make life harder for makers of quality feature films.

But the new rules on government subsidies may mark the end of children's films in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Box office has always been a major criterion in the grant system. Economic considerations are now deemed absolutely decisive.

Children's films pure and simple almost never make money to begin with, excepting perhaps Mickey Mouse and the like.

They don't as a rule break even for five or six years, usually after use in the 16mm sector. So in future they are unlikely to qualify for film promotion grants.

It is hardly surprising that directors such as Hark Bohm, probably Germany's foremost children's filmmaker in the 1970s, and Curt Lindt (*Konferenz der Tiere*) are disappointed.

Small wonder directors like Harro Senft (*Ein Tag mit dem Wind*) are often at the receiving end of wry smiles on account of their commitment to children's films.

There is, of course, the fundamental issue: do children still want to see films for children when they go to the cinema?

Is it not truer to say that what they want to see are tough and expensive adventure epics such as *Star Wars* or *Krull*?

Isn't childhood, especially a child's awareness and aesthetic viewpoint, in a state of constant decline in civilisation today?

Could it not be argued that the chil-

■ THE CINEMA

Subsidy changes may mean end of children's films

Children's film as a genre is holed up in a ghetto, with no way out? Can it still hope to compete with spectacular fantasy films by producing simple stories or fairy tales?

There used to be no shortage of fairy tales for children in German cinemas. Indeed, there was nothing else made in Germany.

The moral was straight, the artistic value as a rule negligible. Back in the early 1950s, that is. Then the fairy tale film vanished completely in 1957.

That was because children under six were no longer allowed to go to the cinema. They had made up between 50 and 70 per cent of the fairy-tale film viewing public, so the genre was no longer viable. Output ground to a virtual halt.

The trend didn't affect older children aged up to 14. The films that interested them were already the imported variety.

So it would be unfair to lay the blame solely on legal changes. In reality children grew less interested in fairy tales and more interested in TV.

There were half-hearted post-1957 attempts to remedy the situation. Plans to set up a national unit of the Unesco International Children's and Youth Film Centre were abandoned.

The Standing Conference of Land Education Ministers was opposed to the idea, and in those days officialdom was

reluctant to have anything to do with an institution with which the GDR was associated.

The German Children's Film Award, a scheme set up by the Family and Youth Affairs Ministry in Bonn in 1959, was scrapped in 1972 after the award-winners had for years been foreign entries.

In 1975 a scheme launched 10 years earlier by film distributors, North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria and the Film and Picture Institute was abandoned.

The aim had been to make children's and youth films available for networking in Germany by using government funds to buy the rights to foreign productions.

Yet at the same time as government schemes of this kind foundered, self-help moves at local authority level gained momentum.

They went largely unnoticed but gave some idea of the keen interest in children's films that still existed.

A number of communal (or local authority-backed) cinemas began regularly screening children's films, and in Frankfurt there was an international children's film festival.

In 1977 this was followed by promising government aid when the Bonn Youth, Family Affairs and Health Ministry finally set up a children's and youth film centre.

But it was saddled with the heavy-weight and educational sub-heading Centre for Audio-Visual Communication and Audio-Visual Productions in Youth Work.

Educational impetus has frequently been the determining factor, if not the trigger, in children's and youth film work.

Children's films are usually shown, individually and in festivals, by vicarages, youth centres and Christian associations.

They expect there to be some educational fallout, but the result is not infrequently a strained and overambitious atmosphere that cannot be said to encourage insights by means of fun and games.

Instead, films are often discussed at school afterwards. This may be laudable but it indicates mistrust: mistrust of the children's intelligence.

The prevailing shoulder-patting treatment of and lack of interesting in children's films, which are seen as a mere sideline, may well be heightened as a result.

Even so, the children's film is viewed by the general public as something that needn't be taken seriously. Children's films are next to never reviewed by the critics.

The government seems to feel they are not worth supporting. Filmmakers seem to feel they are not worth the effort or ambition.

In Eastern Europe films for children and young people make up as much as a third of the domestic film output. In Germany they seldom rate a mention in terms of a percentage.

In France a major director such as François Truffaut retains a keen and unremitting interest in children's films. In Germany they are usually chosen by film academy students as their first works.

If budding directors succeed in mak-

ing a name for themselves a career of filmmaking they usually wave goodbye to children's films, which is surprising given the poor prospects they have as children's filmmakers.

In 1979, the UN International Children's Year, there was a temporary surge of sadness about the new children get in the Federal Republic.

'Children's Year' activities include children's films. Parties were held, clubs founded, but many were fly-by-nights.

But one survivor of 1979 enthusiasm, a survivor that will be here in December last year the plunders arrived to carry off the precious finds.

The Aztec burial chamber together with a fresco were uncovered by workers during building work on a new subway system.

The tomb, which is probably over 500 years old, contained burial gifts made of gold and silver, ceramic wares, statues of gods, reliefs and sacrificial bowls, the value of which had not even been estimated.

The thieves had stolen the Aztec treasure overnight, even before the museum experts could take possession of the new finds.

This is just one of many such incidents, which have become regular occurrences the world over.

The plundered treasures from the tombs of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, will, sooner or later, find their way onto the international art market, which is currently experiencing a boom period for antiquities from Third World countries.

The art smugglers are only rarely caught red-handed. The American, David Bernstein, is an exception. While checking his four suitcases at Washington airport, customs officials came across ancient mummy wrappings, which were thousands of years old; a death mask made of gold and silver; lapidary jewellery and clay vessels, all burial gifts taken from the tomb of an Inca ruler and smuggled out of Peru.

An expert for pre-Columbian art, curator Clifford Evans from Washington, was absolutely taken aback by what he saw. "We haven't got this sort of stuff in our museums", he exclaimed, "and you won't find anything like it in Peruvian museums either."

Even heavy sacred stones, which can weigh tons, such as the temple steles from the Maya Empire, somehow find their way into the American art trade.

However, only moneyed collectors can stay in the bidding here. Art dealer Clive Hollinshead from the Californian town of Santa Fe Springs, for example, offered a Maya stele made of limestone and hewn with a mythical relief for \$300,000.

American archaeologists were able to trace the origins of this particular work of art, which was claimed to be 1,200 years old. It had been procured by a well-organised expedition of "grave-robbing" from the ruined city of La Maya in the ruin forest in Northern Guatemala.

The tomb and the sacrificial stone had been chiselled free by an armed gang of "Escaleros" (Spanish, *estela* = stele) the overgrown ruins of a Maya temple in La Maya.

The same gangsters are also responsible for murdering forest wardens and guards from the Guatemalan Authority for the Protection of Historical Monuments.

Experts reckon that pre-Columbian art valued at at least \$500m is smuggled out of Central America every year.

The organised gangs in Mexico, Guatemala, Belize or Honduras are particularly interested in plundering ruins and sepulchres which have not yet been discovered or officially taken over by the authorities dealing with ancient relics.

In the small state of Belize, for example, on the Gulf of Honduras, the number of sites where illegal excavation is being carried out is put at about 300.

In the ruins of the temple city of Altun-ha American archaeologists were able to uncover and take possession of a jade head, ten centimetres high, which depicts the sun god Kinich-ahau. Museum experts estimate that this precious object will fetch a million dollars on the international art market.

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Most of the gangs have local accomplices who really know their way around the area, and who have the technical equipment, metal probes, cross-country vehicles and, in many cases, motorboats and helicopters.

It usually only takes a week to locate and bust open a mound; tough work in the jungle, using machetes, axes, shovels and pick-axes.

Central and South America are not the only sources of the kind of antique art which sells like hot cakes and finds its way on to the market via black-market channels, galleries, auctioneers and art magazines.

Plundering is also extremely common in Africa, Asia and Oceania.

A report by experts from the University of California revealed that during the

■ THE ARTS

The plundering of the treasure troves of the Third World

Once again, the art thieves were just one step ahead of the archaeologists of the Mexican National Museum.

Only hours after the discovery of the tomb of an Aztec princess in the country's capital, Mexico City, at the end of December last year the plunders arrived to carry off the precious finds.

The Aztec burial chamber together with a fresco were uncovered by workers during building work on a new subway system.

The tomb, which is probably over 500 years old, contained burial gifts made of gold and silver, ceramic wares, statues of gods, reliefs and sacrificial bowls, the value of which had not even been estimated.

The thieves had stolen the Aztec treasure overnight, even before the museum experts could take possession of the new finds.

This is just one of many such incidents, which have become regular occurrences the world over.

The plundered treasures from the tombs of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, will, sooner or later, find their way onto the international art market, which is currently experiencing a boom period for antiquities from Third World countries.

The art smugglers are only rarely caught red-handed. The American, David Bernstein, is an exception. While checking his four suitcases at Washington airport, customs officials came across ancient mummy wrappings, which were thousands of years old; a death mask made of gold and silver; lapidary jewellery and clay vessels, all burial gifts taken from the tomb of an Inca ruler and smuggled out of Peru.

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Ghana for ritual consultations and oracle-givings.

A small wooden demon's head worshipped by the Kota peoples of West Africa as a fetish and ancestral relic, was sold in a Paris gallery last October for about DM 22,000.

During the same auction in Paris a large number of Dogon and Mossi statues, sculptures and masks from the Ibos and Punus as well as more recent works of art were also sold at no less than DM 2,000 apiece.

Shiva statues from India, temple sculptures from Bangla Desh or Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia), antique jade work from Burma, just a selection of the kind of art to be found on the grey market of the galleries in Europe and the USA.

As the director of the National Museum in Dacca points out, 6,000 sacred statues were stolen or destroyed during the war of independence in Bangla Desh.

Other crisis-ridden countries such as Vietnam, Laos, Ethiopia, Zaire, Angola, Tanzania and Madagascar have experienced a similar exodus of art.

However, many historically valuable collections have been rescued.

The former colonial rulers in Cambodia, the French, stole lorry loads of Khmer statues and antique Buddha figures, which can be seen today scattered around Paris museums.

Since 1975 many of Kampuchea's works of art have been completely destroyed or damaged by the campaign of devastation pursued by the Khmer Rouge.

Many Third World countries, however, are now demanding that their works of art, archaeological finds and sacred objects be returned to their rightful owners.

During a UNESCO conference in Palermo African museum directors accused European museums and collectors of "plundering alien cultural possessions".

The Lebanese diplomat, Salah Stetie, posed the polemic question: "What would France have to say if its Gothic cathedrals were dismantled and carried off to Senegal?"

Pedro de Silva, director of the national museums in Sri Lanka, speaks of "a cry of fear by the developing countries in the face of the cultural void left behind by such plundering."

Some countries have already begun to return their colonial booty.

Belgium, for example, has sent back several thousand works of art to its ex-colony Zaire (formerly the Congo).

The Royal Africa Museum in Tervuren near Brussels has given Zaire advice on how to take care of and conserve these objects.

Last year, Italy handed back the precious throne of King Menelik II to the Ethiopian government. Mussolini's troops had stolen the throne from the palace of Addis Ababa in 1936 and taken it back to Rome.

Four North American museums sent back pre-Columbian terracottas and burial gifts to Peru and Panama.

Papua New Guinea received masks and fetishes from Australia and New Zealand in time for the opening ceremony of its new museum.

Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, received five bird sculptures pertaining to the Black African Zimbabwe culture from its arch-enemy South Africa. The Zimbabwe culture, with its gold and copper mines, had reigned in South-East Africa between the 11th and 14th century.

Last year, in a resolution by the UNESCO on the robbery practised on art treasures from Third World countries, the message was clear: "Every people has the right and the duty to protect and maintain its cultural heritage".

For the Mexican journalist, lawyer and art lover, Jose Luis Castaneda, this was not enough. He borrowed a valuable Aztec myth codex from the Paris National Library and smuggled it back to Mexico.

Many European countries appreciate the demands made by Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Particularly collections which were taken out of these countries during the colonial period are gradually finding their way back "home".

However, the UNESCO Paris Convention Against Art Smuggling has only been ratified by a handful of western countries.

In the Federal Republic of Germany there has not yet been a public discussion on this issue. Nevertheless, there is talk of sending back parts of the Egyptian collections in various museums in West Berlin or exchanging Ceylonese dancing masks at present owned by the Berlin Folklore Museum.

However, an end to the smuggling of art out of the Third World is not in sight.

As Herbert Ganslmayer, director of the Bremen Overseas Museum, points out: "Even if public museums were to be a bit more wary about works of art of rather questionable origin, there are an innumerable amount of private collections which would gladly buy them."

Ethnologists and museum directors have mixed feelings about returning works of art to their countries of origin.

Zaire, for example, presented a proper scandal in this respect.

The Royal Africa Museum near Brussels had handed back valuable masks, sculptures and fetishes from the ancient kingdoms of Bakuba and Bakongo to the government of Zaire.

A few weeks later box-loads of these works of art turned up on the international art market and were offered for sale.

They had allegedly been stolen from a depository in Kinshasa, the blame being placed on the museum administration.

However, there were rumours that the collections had been requisitioned by members of the ruling Mobutu clan and subsequently sent abroad.

Only a few countries, such as oil-rich Nigeria, can afford to buy the works of art back.

Representatives of the Nigerian government, for example, turned up at auctions at Sotheby's in London.

Nigeria was able to outbid everyone else to obtain bronze sculptures and masks from the Benin Empire (17th and 18th centuries).

What is more, only a few countries have the financial resources, the trained personnel and the knowhow to procure art collections and keep them in museums.

A German ethnologist and expert on African affairs underlines this: "Most countries only possess limited possibilities when it comes to useful museum work. Their cultural heritage often rots away in depositories, cellars or sheds. The demands made to return the works of art from Europe seem rather questionable and unconvincing in view of the

Continued on page 13

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Jelly is Lisa

■ FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE

The man who gave the blind the eyes to read

Louis Braille, who developed a system of reading for the blind that is used throughout the world, was himself blind.

The ill luck that struck him at the age of three when he accidentally caught himself in the face with aawl in his father's leather workshop has turned out to be a blessing for millions of people.

Braille was born in January 1809 in the village of Coupvrai not far from Paris, where his father was a maker of leather belts.

After the accident which caused his blindness, the family did everything to lighten the boy's load. There were enough brothers and sisters to help him learn and he progressed well enough eventually to be able to go to an advanced school for the blind.

At the beginning of the 19th century, there were ways for blind people to become educated, but it was an extremely difficult process.

Three hundred years before Braille was born, an Italian Jesuit priest called Francesco Lana-Terzi had developed a script for the blind.

His system used combinations of squares and right angles and between one and three dots to represent each letter.

But the text was difficult to manufacture and difficult to read. Even reading short pieces was a long-winded process and the method did not make a breakthrough.

The next development was experi-



Louis Braille... genius to the fingertips. (Photo: dpa)

mentation with letters that could be gripped, much like those used by printers in hot-metal setting.

The first book using this relief script was published in 1789 during the French revolution by Valentin Haüy, who ran a school for the blind in Paris.

The idea caught on and became a welcome source of income for printing firms. Before long relief-script books were being published in many parts of Europe.

Braille was among the many blind people who learned from these books, although reading remained slow. Some works needed months to read.

The only way to increase reading speed was to increase the amount of information in the space available in easily perceptible form.

While Braille was still at school, teachers in Berlin, Vienna and Zurich had begun experimenting with punched holes, following the letter contours.

But the first real development towards a basically new method of script for the blind came from a French artillery officer, Captain Nicolas Barbier de la Serre.

He had purely military reasons. His problem was how to give orders at night without talking and without burning lights.

He used thin metal plates, subsequently made out of tin or aluminium alloy, and worked out a comprehensive system of dots which were engraved between scored parallel lines.

Louis Braille knew all this. As a 16-year-old he began simplifying the systems then available and worked out that the tips of the fingers could not at one time handle more than six dots.

He developed a method of grouping dots in such a way that 63 different combinations were possible — enough for not only the letters of the alphabet and the numbers but also for all sorts of symbols and stenographic abbreviations.

It was easy to learn and quickened the speed of reading. But the response was not enthusiastic. One reason was commercial. Publishers were still producing the profitable relief-script books.

So in 1829, Braille went ahead himself and published a book with the Braille system. Immediately he won support.

There was no going back. In the second half of the 19th century Braille writing caught on in Europe, North America and eventually the rest of the world.

Franz Fegler
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,
9 January 1984)

History put the 'phone down on Philipp Reis

lat ("Horses don't eat gurken salad") said Reis.

At the other end of the line in the school's physics room was his friend, a music teacher, who replied: "Dass weiss ich schon längst, du alter Schafskopf!" ("I've known that for a long time, you blockhead").

On 26 October 1861, he demonstrated the apparatus to the physics society in Frankfurt. And again in 1863.

By now he had improved the model to the point where it could transmit as far as 100 metres. His next big test was before a meeting of researchers in Gießen.

What might have been his big moment was a failure. The plan was for songs to be sung over the wire. But at the receiving end all that could be heard was an unconvincing nasal sound.

Not many of the audience were convinced. The general attitude was one of tolerant amusement. Reis' efforts had been useless. The test had been just an amusing interlude.

But Reis kept on working. Over the years he got better and better technically. But he got no expert recognition and made no money.

Nobody wanted his telephone because it was considered too childish for adults and too dangerous for children because electricity was involved.

He kept trying. He went from school to school giving exhibitions. He hoped to publicise his discovery through the



Philipp Reis... the man at the end of the line. (Photo: dpa)

columns of the paper *Annalen der Physik*, which he contributed to. But they sacked him, describing his work as "foolishness".

Reis' restless inventor's life ended tragically. He had batteries stored in his bedroom and during the process of charging them, he failed to notice that gas was being discharged.

The gas caused a lung illness and on 14 January, 1874, he died at Friedrichsdorf. He had just turned 40.

In 1876, Alexander Graham Bell, a teacher of deaf and dumb children, demonstrated a better telephone which used induction current instead of batteries.

The telephone went on to conquer the world.

Dieter Thierbach
(Die Welt, 7 January 1984)

■ MODERN LIVING

A slippery life for the girls who chase after the puck

One of the last bastions of male sport has been conquered by women: this year there is to be for the first time a German women's ice-hockey championship.

One of the teams which will be involved is Füssen, in Bavaria near the Austrian border.

In women's ice-hockey, the information flow is somewhat more frozen than with the men. The Füssen girls, for example have to consult the local paper to find out when their training times are.

It is usually 8pm, but if it is put back to 7pm and some of the players haven't seen the paper, they just miss out on an hour's training.

They also need to cultivate the right people. The man in charge of the ice-rink for example. But they're not angry



Padding up

that they live in the shadow of the men, they say.

Women's ice hockey. A picture of slashing fists, bleeding noses, rib-breaking blows from the stick. Is that what it's really like?

One player carved over the ice cutting a picture like one of the rougher players in the male league. This was one of the first impressions that tended to confirm prejudices.

Peter, one of the Füssen attack, said: "When we go, we go!" She had a bannered upper body because she cracked a shoulder blade during a friendly match in Berlin.

"Women lay into each other just the way men do," said Annelie, the Füssen captain. She is not allowed to play at the moment because she is expecting a baby.

"That's the sort of problem you have put up with when you train a women's team," said trainer Max.

In the morning he works at the post

office, in the afternoon he looks after his mountain lodge and on Thursday nights he trains the team.

That what he likes best, training the team. When they're out there on the ice, all the prejudices vanish.

They screech across the ice, sometimes a bit clumsily. There is no hair flowing in the slipstream because the ice-hockey federation says it must be covered by the helmet.

Neither do breasts heave under the jerseys because they all wear breast protectors. The protectors come in only one size, so some of the girls don't exactly love them.

Despite the impression they give on the ice with their formless hunks of plastic uniform, the girls need have no second thoughts about going to the local disco.

Neither do they have the mouth full of gleaming jacket crowns that seem to be the hallmark of male players.

"Only in Cologne are there a few nasties," explains Annelie.

The team began in 1975 when a handful of the girls got themselves together. They got second-hand jerseys, handed out patronisingly, amusedly. They got

worn-out mens trousers. But others were also following the example of the men.

In Cologne, Berlin and Düsseldorf, for example. The German ice-hockey federation accepted them and handed out players passes and rule books.

Since 1982 there has been a women's league, but only in North-Rhine Westphalia. In the meantime, around 20 of the teams in the country have started using the body-check, although they're not meant to.

The rule book forbids it. Wolfgang Borge, chairman of the North-Rhine Westphalia federation says that the women, just like the men, want to test themselves.

This is why there will be a women's championship this year, to be decided in a tournament.

But all teams have problems which can be put down to lack of support. For example, Düsseldorf have to train at Ratingen. Cologne have been allocated a training time of 7 am on Sunday and



Breaking the ice

(Photos: Detlev Schumacher)

they have to pay 175 marks a training session. In addition the team plays 50 kilometres away in Wühl.

Only in Allgäu has it been made easier. In Füssen, the president of the federation is Otto Wanner. He is also the mayor.

Annelie explains: "We've negotiated our training so that we can still go to the disco."

The men should follow the example. Peter Stützer

(Welt am Sonntag, 1 January 1984)

Helping hand for mid-life return to work

hoped that women particularly would be able to come to some arrangement whereby they could both work and fulfil family duties.

Thousand of women had found the right compromise. Guidelines were being prepared to promote women in public service jobs.

There had been positive experiences from the model project designed to help nurses go back to nursing. A five-month course was designed to freshen up the nursing knowledge and reduce inhibitions.

Because of the strong favourable reaction, consideration was being given to extending this sort of course to other professions.

The Senator also said there were other work possibilities, for those who could afford it, honorary work.

The course "A New Start From 35" began with 25 participants and none dropped out. The career fields were extremely varied. Secretaries, doctors assistants, and former students were very strongly represented. Most wanted to go back to their old careers. There was some indecision at the beginning in some cases but a sense of purpose at the end.

Five women decided to take on unpaid work. One mother said the course had showed that her children still needed her and she had to rule out a part time job.

Most had a bad conscience because of

the children or the husband. There had also been cases where promises from other parts of the family to help lighten the work load had been quickly forgotten.

In this light, the course helped, apart from psychological and practical considerations, as a preparation so households could get ready for changes in the way they were run.

Many women already had unpaid positions but wanted to move on to paid employment. They felt they no longer wanted to be regarded as people without careers. Nor did they want to be financially dependent on husbands.

A particularly difficult situation was where a woman was going through a crisis in her marriage but was not divorced and the State was not paying for her training.

There is much anxiety about getting further training. First choice is often the adult evening classes, although they have little recognition.

Women who took part in "A New Start From 35" were provided with information about subsidies and they were addressed by representatives of institutions (the employment office, for example). The women wrote job applications and practised what they would say.

Now they have formed themselves into a self-help group which meets once a week. Help is given in the search for jobs. That way they don't give up so easily. Four women have already found work.

Demand is so high that application is being made for city support for two courses a year.

Dorothea Siems

(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 December 1983)

helping hand